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ABSTRACT

This report provides a case study of a deliberately created interorganizational and political network among a national R&D center producing a new elementary curriculum in the arts, a state political structure including a state department of education with a multi-arts section and a governor committed publicly to broadening the children's education in the arts, several colleges and universities, and some local school districts scattered across the state. The report includes a discussion of research procedures, a description and analysis of the comprehensive plan for aesthetic education and the year of its implementation, a brief description of a subsequent network of aesthetic education centers, and a discussion of the case study's implications for other educational networks. (JD)

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Interorganizational Structures as Educational Networks

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1. AN INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE

These days, words like "networking" and "invisible colleges" and maybe the phenomena they are alleged to represent have strong positive connotations. In another era, and in another domain, "old-boy networks" and "informal social and professional clubs" were words and phenomena that smacked of elitism, discrimination, and inequality. These days, too, formal organizations, AERA, APA, et al are alleged to be too big, too unresponsive, and out of touch with their memberships. There's some doubt whether NEA and their state affiliates ever were "teachers" organizations. For a while, too, social scientists discovered and were enamoured with informal organizations, that is, informal social structures and processes embedded in the more formal, rational, bureaucratic structures. Some people (e.g. Toulmin, Ziman, Price) see the establishment of the Royal Society of London in the mid 17th century, an outgrowth of the original invisible college, as one of the major developments in the history of science. There seems to be little information and current discussion on the genesis and history of AERA and APA, and ASA, at least in circles whose perimeters I intersect. Finally, having been marginally but personally involved in the early activities of two developing professional groups the Council on Anthropology and Education and the International Academy of Pedagogical Science, a number of images have been created about the association of scientists and professionals.

Such an introductory paragraph has several purposes. First, it indicates that any discussion of "networking" has multiple historical and contemporaneous connections with other phenomena in the sociology of science and professions. Second, it is my interest to introduce a broad range of models open to discussion in this symposium. Third, it might legitimate the specific instance of an "interorganizational structure", it not a network, which was created for the dissemination of a new curriculum, a case which we are privileged to study and which I wish to report here.[1] Fourth, it precipitates a tentative working definition. For my purposes here, a network is an interrelated set of members separated in space so that direct face to face interaction tends to be sporadic or episodic rather than regular or frequent. As such, a network can be roughly distinguished from a group. Further a network tends to be more diffuse, less hierarchical, and less goal centered than a formal organization. However, as invisible colleges become professional associations and societies, even if not Royal ones, they become less like networks and more like a formal organization. Finally, the members of a network may be individuals, groups, formal organizations (public and private), or some combination of these.

One of the strengths of case studies is that they provide in their particularity a vivid view of the phenomenon under consideration, in this instance, a network. By tracing in some detail the problems in the origins of such a case, it seems that the makers of policy in educational networking might have a more differentiated scheme or cognitive map of events involved in a network. Further, by presenting a more abstract analytical framework one can relate the particulars to broader ideas in education and social science. This essay explicitly attempts to reach these descriptive and theoretical objectives.

[1] Sally Schumacher was a research assistant with me (Smith & Schumacher 1972) and wrote her dissertation (Schumacher 1975) on a portion of the project. The present account significantly extends the original analysis.

2. ARTS AND AESTHETIC EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF AN INTERORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK

The Case as a Research Problem

The network under study in this essay was 1) deliberate 2) interorganizational 3) political. It was not a spontaneous coming together of individuals for personal reasons. Most of the organizations were public institutions supported by public funds. Each had its own agenda which it was trying to pursue. In brief, the network being established was between a National R&D Center producing a new elementary curriculum in the arts, a state political structure including a State Department of Education with a multi-arts section in its structure and a governor committed publicly to broadening the children's education in the arts, several colleges and universities and some local school districts scattered geographically through the northern, central and southern parts of the state. Within each district one school and its staff of principal and teachers were to be involved. Such a case has its own kind of reality for it involves the host of problems and events when governmental agencies of several kinds try to "stimulate", "facilitate", or "help" in the improvement of education at the local level. Understanding one particular attempt presumable provides images and a perspective for other possibilities.

It seems important to note here that the "network", an association of individuals and groups communicating with one another, occurred at several levels. First, there is the leadership group of individuals in the National Center, in various positions in the Middlestate Department of Education, in the several colleges and universities (usually in Departments of Education and/or the Arts) and in the local school districts. They knew each other in various capacities beforehand, as we will indicate later. The very fact that the effort took place in Middlestate depended on these prior connections. At a second or middle level, a network of middle managers, supervisors, directors, coordinators, university faculty are coming to know each other, work together, and develop a social structure reflecting the formal arrangement agreed to by the leaders. At a third level the network refers to the teachers and administrators in local public schools who were being stimulated to develop a set of relationships which were connected with, but only partly overlapping with, the "leadership" networks. These relationships would facilitate curricular and instructional change in the group of schools and lead over time to changes in other schools.

Research Procedures

The study of the statewide network of schools was couched as "a qualitative description, analysis, and evaluation" of the extended pilot trials of the new curriculum. During the first year, the "evaluation" effort consisted primarily in obtaining a relatively detailed description of the workings of this project. "Telling the story" of innovative projects has been strongly recommended by Maslow (1965). He comments, for instance:

> In most such cases (experimental programs and schools) we wind up with a retrospective story of the program, the faith, the confident expectations, but with inadequate accounts of just what was done, how, and when and of just what happened and didn't happen as a result...The real question is how we can make the best use of the "natural experiments" that result when some courageous enthusiast with faith in his ideas wants to "try something out" and is willing to gamble...If only they were good reporters too, and regarded the "write-up" as a part of the commitment!

> That is just about the way the ethnologist works: he doesn't design, control, manipulate, or change anything. Ultimately he is simply a noninterfering observer and a good reporter (Maslow, 1965, p. 13).

Reflections upon the descriptive narrative yielded concepts, hypotheses, problems to be studied, and "suggestions" for program personnel. It is important to accent the tentative quality of the hypotheses, models, and suggestions or recommendations yielded by this kind of approach in this phase of an evaluation effort.

At a procedural level, the methodology of participant observation is very simple. The observer tries to be around during most of the major events, to blend roles of detachment and involvement through different settings, activities and interactions. Usually he tries to take copious notes of these events. The intensive involvement may cover the entire period of the project, or it may involve several months of man days as in the Extended Pilot Trials. In the larger projects, the field notes run into thousands of pages, "several filing drawers full." From these experiences and records of the experiences, reports are prepared. They may eventually become monographs and books. Essentially, the content involves a descriptive narrative of particular events and interpretations and generalizations of a more abstract and theoretical sort.[2]

The two observers were on site approximately several days each month for the entire school year. The observations began in the summer prior to the opening of school. The observations ended with the spring meeting of representatives of the several organizations negotiation for continuation of the project. In between, the investigators were around the National R&D Center and had access to records, documents, and colleagues involved in curriculum development and evaluation.

3. RESULTS: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

One of the usual and basic questions raised about a large year long curriculum project is the deceptively simple "How did it go?" or "What happened in Middlestate?" We phrase it as "deceptively simple" because the questioner usually is asking for at least three things: 1) a selective description, that is, an account of the highlights; 2) an initial conceptualization, that is, some general or abstract structure into which the highlights fit and which gives meaning beyond the simple narrative stream; and 3) an overall evaluation that presupposes both the abstract structure and also a scheme of values (or criteria) which are discriminable, ordered into priorities, and weighted in importance. Each of these is no mean task in itself. In addition, the inquirer typically, but often implicitly, has in mind a particular audience, a particular perspective, and a particular purpose.

[2]For intensive usage of participant observation on a variety of problems in education, see Smithand Geoffrey, 1968, Smith and Keith, 1971, Smith and Pohland, 1974, 1976 and Smith (in process).

As a natural phenomenon, the AAE Extended Pilot trials broke into several simple segments. For our purposes, these periods can be described and interpreted briefly. The first segment was a long planning period, most of which occurred in the school year 1970-71. This resulted in a series documents and formal agreements among National R&D, the Middlestate Department of Education, and various local school districts. As part of this segment, we include the "August workshops" which spilled over into September. Three two-day "familiarization" sessions were held with participants, mostly teachers, from the three geographical areas of the state-northern, central, and southern. The second, and longest segment, involved the staggered and delayed arrival and utilization of of the curriculum packages from October, 1971 through May, 1972. As seems true of many schooling phenomena, the final segment involved the termination fo the year's program and formalization of plans for the next academic year, 1972-73.

The Comprehensive Plan

In January, 1970 , a year and a half before our observations began, the State Department of Education and National had a formal agreement to establish a five year project to implement an aesthetic education program in Middlestate. The project, a cooperative association between four types of organizations: a national educational center, a state department of education, and several universities and local school districts would serve multiple purposes of each of the organizations. The plan anticipated that both the Center and the State Department's activities would be more intensive during the early years of the project, with the responsibility shifting to the school districts during the later years.

To be more specific, the plan called for:

1. National R&D to provide, without cost, one set of the art curriculum packages per district for the duration of the project.

2. National to provide a coordinator to monitor the state program in cooperation with the Division of Fine Arts of the Middlestate Department of Education (MDE).

3. National R&D to provide curriculum consultant services to both teacher-training institutions and the pilot schools and to conduct teacher-training workshops for all participants.

4. National R&D to provide evaluation and research services.

5. MDE to identify nine districts in which one school would be designated as a pilot site.

6. MDE to identify three teacher-training institutions and facilitate the establishment of various training functions necessary to implement a total program in aesthetic education and the arts.

7. MDE, through its available resources, to disseminate information regarding the program and to facilitate the official adoption of the packages by other school districts for statewide diffustion.

8. The nine school districts to provide a local coordinator for the program, to initiate curriculum development, and to facilitate the usage of the packages in the pilot school.

9. The three universities to designate a coordinating officer who, during 1971-72, will serve as a liaison person, assess curriculum needs for future program development in thacher training, and aid in developing materials and courses for pre-service elementary teachers.

10. Other agencies envisioned as participating in the five year project included national, state, and local educational associations; national, state and local arts associations; and various clubs and associations.

Plans can be analyzed from numerous points of view and with multiple purposes. For the moment, we will introduce the beginnings of a theoretical structure, an exchange analysis, for understanding such inter-organizational cooperation. Our goal is the eventual understanding of networks of structures and processes in the diffusion and implementation of an innovative curriculum. Figure 1 contains the initial model.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Figure 1 presents the outcomes, the "costs" and "benefits" that were explicitly on the agendas of the participating organizations.3

The national center obtained sites for continuing the trials and evaluation of its new materials, a potential market for its curriculum, and visability of its product. The costs were essentially for the initial sets of materials and several personnel - coordinator, evaluators, and workshop staff. The state department of education continued and expanded its quality education thrust (part of which was in the Governor's platform) and began the development of new teacher education programs. The costs were essentially personnel time and some reorganization of the Bureau of Fine Arts. The local school districts had varying agendas, but were attracted by cost free materials in an area of perceived need and by the excitement which comes from being related to a new state and national program. The costs were essentially those of teacher supervisory resources in training and implementation. As our discussion developes, we will describe alterations from the plan as the reality of the year unfolded.

To view the X Pilot Project in an additional perspective, it may be contrasted to other types and approaches to educational change. The scope is state-wide in contrast to local innovation or national diffusion of curriculum (Borg, 1970). The approach to change is rationalistic, sequential, comprehensive, and complex in contrast to what Lindblom (1969) calls

[3]Each "organization" is a cluster of organizations (e.g., local districts) or a cluster of positions and subunits which, in part, held complementing and sometimes alternate perspectives. This kind of complexity poses significant practical problems in reaching agreements, in dissemination, and in implementation, that is, in network building.

Levels and Kinds of Organizations

Outcomes	The National Center	The State Department of Education	The Local School Districts
Benefits	1. Sites for Summative Trials and Evaluation of Curriculum 2. Potential Market for Curriculum 3. Project and Center Visability	1. Fulfillment of Governor's Platform 2. Extension of Quality Education Program 3. New Teacher Education Programs	1. Cost Free Materials 2. Prestige; as Part of a State and National Project 3. Filling "Perceived" Curriculum Void 4. First Step in Eventual District Adoption (e.g., Ease of Local Evaluation) 5. Staff Development
Costs	1. Supplying 90 Instructional Packages 2. Project Personnel 1. Coordinator 2. Workshop Instructor 3. Evaluator	1. Revision of Fine Arts Bureau 2. Monitoring Resources to Local Districts 3. Development of Diffusion Network	1. Teacher and Supervisory Resources for Implementation 2. Resources as Demonstration Center 3. Continuation of Diffusion Expenses

Figure 1 Exchange Arrangements

"successive limited comparison", a continous problem solving approach. The overriding tone is one of cooperation, not competition, between the various organizations, groups, and individuals. This aspect of a cooperative effort may be viewed as mutual goal-setting between organizations (Pohland, 1970), and as an exchange process to share scarce resources within a social, economic, and political milieu. The implications for networking are quite simple but powerful. Several large organizations had important needs which seemed solvable through a temporary interorganizational structure or network. Needs analysis seldom seems to separate well the two phenomena 1) what someone thinks someone else needs and 2) what someone wants for himself. In this instance, the second meaning of "need" existed. In later networking by the National Center one of the major problems has been instances of the first kind of need "someone thinks someone else needs" the Arts and Aesthetic Education program. This requires those responsible for establishing the network to also convert type 1 needs into type 2 needs, a very difficult undertaking. The arrangements were facilitated by prior knowledge and prior relationships of central actors at the National Center, at Middlestate Department of Education, at the several Universities; and a number of the public school systems. In a sense it was formalizing, after, some exploring and compromising, a set of relationships among formal leaders, already partly in place. Nothing is de novo; everything has a history.

Initial Efforts

Between January of 1971 and September of 1971, the series of decisions and arrangements moved rapidly. By March, the participants had been identified. The AAE Coordinator was actively involved in working with the State Department of Education in selecting the nine school districts and the three teacher-training institutions. Presentation meetings for administrators in these groups were held in March and May, both in Middlestate and at the National R&D Center.

Three teacher familiarization sessions were conducted by National and the State Department of Education for the participating classroom teachers, local school coordinators, and the college coordinators. The program was to give an overview of the total X Pilot Project and of the Arts and aesthetic education curriculum to the intended user, the classroom teacher. Also present were those who would provide support services during package implementation: local coordinators, supervisors and/or specialists, and members of the State Department. Approximately 30 to 40 school people attended each of the three sessions. National sent the Coordinator, and two staff members (who had written and edited several of the five curriculum packages) to conduct the sessions. Each college coordinator attended one session and several MDE staff were present at all sessions. The groups met in late August and early September.

The activities included small and large group sessions with provision for informal chats at "coffee breaks" and lunch. Most of the time was spent in small group sessions working through some of the activities of a package with one of the National staff. Each group was rotated to work with four of the five packages and thus had an opportunity to ask questions of the two writers and the Coordinator. Agendas for the large group sessions included: an overview of aesthetic education through a slide-type presentation, a sum-

mary of the State program, an explanation of the participant-observation mode of inquiry by the National evaluators, a general question-and-answer session, and finally, the latest information to aid in the practical details of delivering the materials to the schools and the teaching of the packages.

The several workshops may be viewed as an evolving process for both the Center staff and the MDE in their initial work with the classroom teachers. The sequencing and the length of the activities changed within each two day session. The objectives of the workshops shifted from what we called a "show and tell" orientation to an "experiential" orientation. By "show and tell" we mean a style which tended to accent presentations and "performances" by the staff to a style which tended to accent a participatory and exploratory "experience" with the materials. From the viewpoint of the classroom teachers, the two day session was a "one-shot deal" and thus their initial impressions of the packages, aesthetic education, and the X Pilot Project were primarily based on the particular session which they attended.

In Figure 2 we have tried to summarize the workshop in terms of several key ideas. The workshop contained multiple perspectives regarding the concept of aesthetic education; the workshop style moved from a "show and tell" emphasis to an "experience" emphasis. The antecedents of the workshop style seemed to lie in the relative inexperience of the staff as a teaching team and as teacher educators, and in their ability to analyze, revise, and improvise. The overall consequences were reflected in teacher attitudes, understandings, and skills. The attitudes were toward a willingness to try the materials; the understandings carried a lack of clarity due, in part, to the multiple perspectives of aesthetic education which were presented; the learning of skills was particularly difficult in the limited time available. As always, there was a context of prior teacher attitudes and background in the arts and the styles different districts had used to "assign" or "ask" the teachers to be involved.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Also, the Familiarization Sessions may be viewed as one segment of project implementation. During late August and September of 1971, in the context of the sessions, organizational roles were clarified. Package delivery would be the responsibility of National, package utilization would be the responsibility of local districts; and monitoring and coordination for state diffusion would be the joint responsibility of the Coordinator and the MDE. Various expectations and perceptions of the program intent and operation were unfolded before the school year began in September of 1971. The participants conveyed this in their actions, informal conversations, planned meetings, and program documents. In many instances, the expectations given by spokesmen for the different organizations carried more credibility than the formal documents.[4] This was significant also in instances where the documents were not available to the participants or when conditions had changed to such an extent that personal communication became a more reliable source of information.

[4]This is in keeping with House's (1974) distinction of private and public knowledge and communication in face to face contacts.

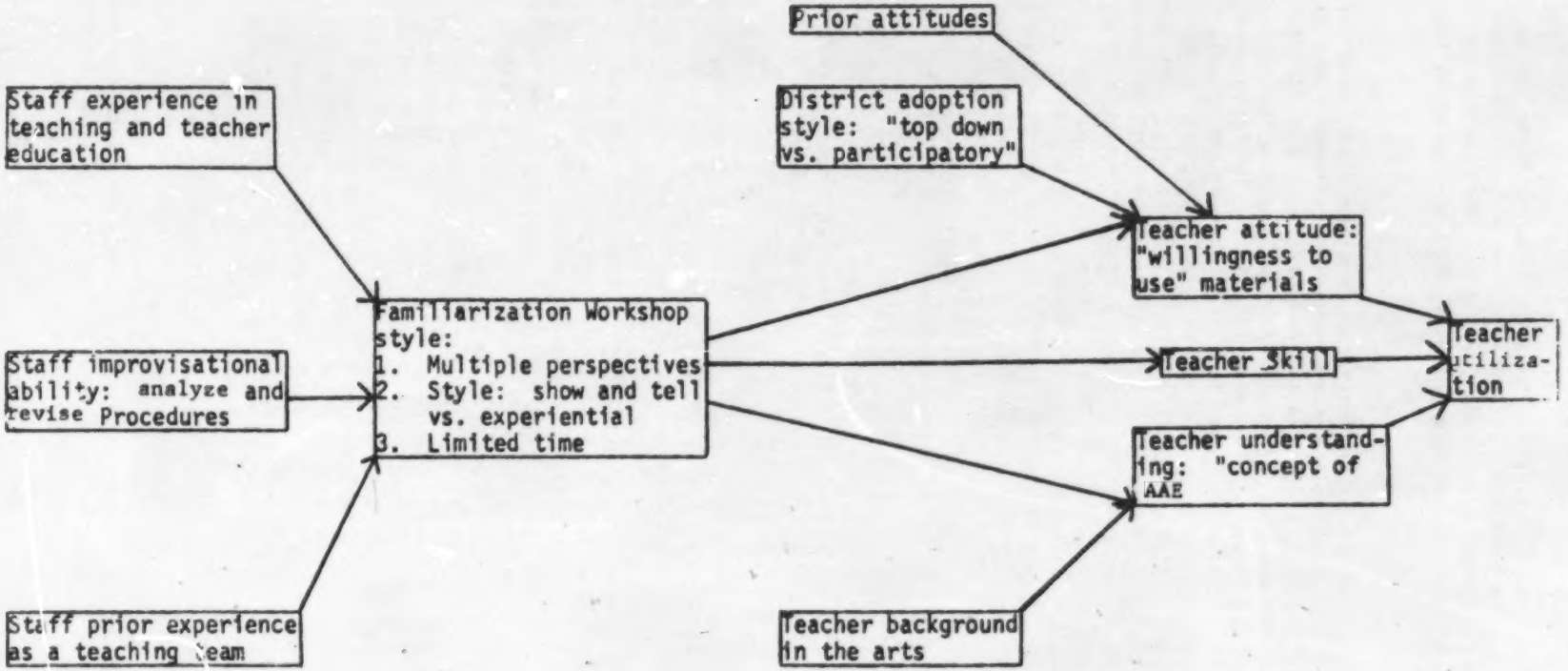
Prior attitudes
Staff experience in teaching and teacher education
District adoption style: "top down vs. participatory"
Teacher attitude: "willingness to use" materials
Familiarization Workshop style:
1. Multiple perspectives
2. Style: show and tell vs. experiential
3. Limited time
Staff improvisational ability: analyze and revise Procedures
Teacher Skill
Teacher utilization
Teacher understanding: "concept of AAE
Staff prior experience as a teaching team
Teacher background in the arts

Figure 2 Summary Synthesis of the Teacher Workshop: Intentions and Realities

To be more specific, the totality of the program was summarized by spokesmen for the MDE at the Familiarizations Sessions when the audience was the local coordinators, some specialists, and the classroom teachers. By then, the revised estimates of package delivery were announced by National spokesmen.

The MDE saw its role as one of an "overseer from the state point of view". Thus, it would make available its resources to tie into other projects through Title III monies, visits in the schools to help districts and to gain ideas for teacher education programs, and call on the resources of the Fine Arts division and other divisions to facilitate the implementation of the program. The intended users, the classroom teachers, were told by MDE spokesmen that, "You are not alone in the project. You have friends in your own system, other systems, nearby universities regarding teacher education curriculums, administration, and the state department of education. Visitors will come from all over and be in your classes: teachers, state department of education, National, and other friends." Teachers were told that the state department was not going to evaluate each teacher as an individual. Although MDE was concerned about each teacher, the emphasis was to be on how to work together to expand the program. Throughout the year, and in subsequent years the Middlestate Department of Education has struggled with the incredibly difficult role of helping, facilitating, supporting (both financially and interpersonally) the development and expenses of the several levels of networks.

In the familiarization sessions, questions about package delivery arose from the classroom teachers. Although the same information was given at all sessions, the field notes below capture it.

> The topic changes and gets very practical. A classroom teacher raises questions of when are the packages coming, how many per teacher, etc. The Coordinator says one package per school (Obs: The teachers begin to realize the practical implications as the room gets quiet). She says Dramatic Plot should come next week, second week in September, which is the week that school starts. The second, Word Pictures, comes in early September. The next three: Meter, Characterization, and Sound and Movement, come in early October. The teacher asks what are the additional packages that are coming in January? The Coordinator responds to this: second grade level is Composers and Tension; kindergarten is Texture; first grade is Aural Texture; second grade may be either Choreographer or Shapes and Relations. These are suggested grade level of the packages; they can used at higher grade levels. Again the teachers are slowly realizing that they have to share one package among them. As someone points out, their school has four teachers at one grade level. (Obs: This will be a factor in teacher decision-making of when and how to use the packages, an element in teacher utilization.)

The Familiarization Sessions for the majority of the teachers led to a "teacher willingness to use" the packages during her instructional time with her pupils. The multiple perspectives left some conceptual confusion. Exactly how the packages would be used, the various local organizational responses as to the locus of decision-making, and the role of the specialists, supervisors, and local coordinator would have to be worked out by the local district as the year progressed.

In retrospect, these "initial efforts", amount to the development of a second level structure or network among individuals in line positions in the several intermediate levels of each of the organizations. Prior to this period there had been little acquaintance or relationships among these individuals. In effect, they were to represent their organizations and to carry out concretely what had been agreed to abstractly and in principle by the formal leaders of the organization. Much of this was accomplished in the common task of informing, working with, making arrangements with the third level of structure, the teachers who were to implement the new arts and aesthetic education program.

The Year of Implementation

The longer we have been involved in the public schools - as teachers, observers, researchers - the more we have been struck by the rhythm of the school year. Patterns of regularly occurring elements exist; emphasis and accent appear and wane, tempos are slow and easy, hurried, and occasionally rushed. Participants come to feel, to know, to expect, and to work within the rhythm of the year. Educational projects have their own patterns, although one might be pressed to describe them as rhythmical. Part of the demand of school-project management is harmony, integrating project patterns with school rhythms. During the long segment of the 1971-72 school year, from October through May, several items stood out as consistent themes and dramatic elements. These were the larger context, the positive reactions of the teachers and pupils, the delay of package delivery, the variations in district implementation and diffusion processes, the state dissemination activities, and the project coordination and monitoring. We will try to cast these to give the reader a realistic view of this first year of implementation of the innovative aesthetic education curriculum and its implications for interorganizational networks.

The Context: Limited Resources and Educational Politics

The incidents and events in the Middlestate drama during the school year of 1971-72 occurred on a stage or against a backdrop of three themes: resources, politics, and public education at national, state, and local levels. The nation had experienced for several years an inflationary economic trend and the President announced in August a wage and price freeze as Phase I of his economic program, followed by more specific guidelines as Phase II in the fall. Middlestate passed its first state income tax law with money earmarked for education, watched it be declared unconstitutional, and then passed it again in a revised form. At the local level, most districts had failed to pass school bond elections or feared risking an election. By the end of the year, the "squeeze" was still on as cutbacks in local budgets took the form of not filling vacant positions and decreasing the amount spent for curriculum materials. The notes reflect some of the concerns about "resources" voiced at a workshop by a district which was building a high school addition.

> After the workshop had ended and we were working on packing up the materials, one of the participants was talking about his school. He said the district is always mentioned as a "top" school district, but to get the new high school addition, the school board did not go to a referendum but went by mandate. Several school board members may lose their offices. The reason they did not want to risk a bond election failure was that only 35% of the population sent kids to the school and there is an increase of retired people with fixed incomes moving into the area.

This was a politically active year as the nation watched the state primaries in preparation for the Democratic and Republican national conventions scheduled for the summer. State politics centered around the recent election of a new governor and his first year in office. Locally, "budding" teacher organizations and school officials made their first attempts to implement a new state teacher negotiation law. The notes reflect the inter-weaving of the "resources" and "politics" themes as they appeared early on the stage of the first workshop.

> This information is from the Coordinator; she's been in Middlestate more than any of us. She says since there's a Nixon freeze of wages at the moment, there is a freeze on teaching contracts. There was talk of over 200 schools not opening in the fall. She said it was not because of the financial situation so much as that of teacher organizations. I got the impression of professional activities or union activities putting pressure on the school boards ... There is a new law this year regarding teacher negotiations. Because it was a new law, she said, some local school boards decided "Well, we'll erase everything, all the fringe benefits a teacher has and everyone starts from scratch from here on".[5]

Finally, it was the year when Middlestate implemented aesthetic education as part of the general education program in public schools. Its selection as the site for the extended-pilot testing of the AAE packages occurred as a series of coincidences from a gubernatorial platform, long standing professional relationships between some of the staff at the State University and at the Middlestate Department of Education and the National Aesthetic Education Program, and the organizational needs of these separate agencies.

Delay in Package Delivery

Within the public schools, the rhythm of the year goes from the opening of school, through a busy autumn, then Christmas activities, followed by a long stretch of indoor learning events, to the end-of-the-year activities of May and then "June Jubilee" - school's out! An additional beat was added to this rhythm in the nine pilot schools - that of package delivery delays. The first package, Dramatic Plot, arrived in late October and the first week of November.[6]

The other packages arrived as follows: Creating Word Pictures in early December, Meter by early February, Sound and Movement in early Spring, Characterization in late Spring, and Texture in May. In December, a revised schedule for package delivery was sent to each school. The five packages scheduled for delivery in February, 1972, were intially rescheduled for late spring and finally rescheduled for September, 1972.

[5]In the fall, one of our schools was closed as the teachers did go out on strike.

[6]Dates varied among sites; in addition, arrival dates depend on whether one specifies them in terms of arrival at the central office, the building office, or the teacher's desk. Each of these "arrivals" can be separated by days and and even weeks.

In our judgment "delay of delivery" is a most important concept - both practically and theoretically - for individuals involved in large scale diffusion of innovative curricula. The implications spread throughout the project. In Figure 3 we summarize the major antecedents and consequences of this phenomenon.

Insert Figure 3 about here

As has been indicated, ideas of combining an extended pilot of the arts materials and a statewide diffusion project had been discussed informally between representatives of National and the MDE for some time. As package development continued at a smooth pace, it was reasonable to expect that the project could be initiated a year early in 1971-72 if there was careful pre-planning. Thus, the decision to initiate the project a year early stimulated a sense of urgency and purpose but at the same time appeared reasonable in view of the extensive pre-planning by both agencies.

As in any large project which necessitates coordination and use of specialists, accidental or unanticipated events occur. Many of these were minor in that the organizational resources were able to continue the project efforts to meet specified deadlines. Other events, in looking backward, appeared unexpected and uncontrollable. Two examples were a graphics designer hospitalized from a shark bite and the national dock strike which prevented delivery of one component in the arts packages.

The production of the packages was an inter-organizational effort. National, as a federal developmental agency, did not have, nor was intended to have, the facilities for mass production of their products. However, it had acquired through the process of development considerable technical expertise. This is partially related to the type and variety of materials contained in a package. For example, in the first five packages, the "hardware" materials included: ten sets of 7 types of Dramatic Plot cards ranging in number from 7 to 79, 10 sets of three types of game boards with rule sheets, two 33 1/3 rmp records and 6 meter wall charts, 9 boxes of Word Cards to use with "What Is. . .?" Games and 30 Word Books, 30 sets of 6 Picture Composites and Emo Masks to use with a filmstrip, a 33 1/3 rmp record , 30 Emotion Books, and theatrical gels; and 6 flashlight belts and a set of soundmakers to use with two films three sound-tapes, and a Sound and Movement wall chart. Each package also contained the "consumable items" such as student activities charts, pre-test and posttest sheets, recording sheets for various activities. Each package had a Teachers Guide. Compared to a text book and teacher guide, the materials for these packages is complex.

The selection of a company to manufacture, e.g., provide multiple copies for extended pilot trials, was complicated by several factors: locating a company which had the resources to meet the scheduled deadlines and obtaining from the U.S. Office of Education "developmental copyright". Coordination of quality and editoralcontrol between National and the major contractor and subcontractors who on occasion did not meet specification standards or schedules contributed to the delay in delivery of materials.

The consequences in terms of the total project were multiple, some of which were resolved by the resources of the participating agencies during the 1971-72 year. Others remained as areas to be attended to during the next year.

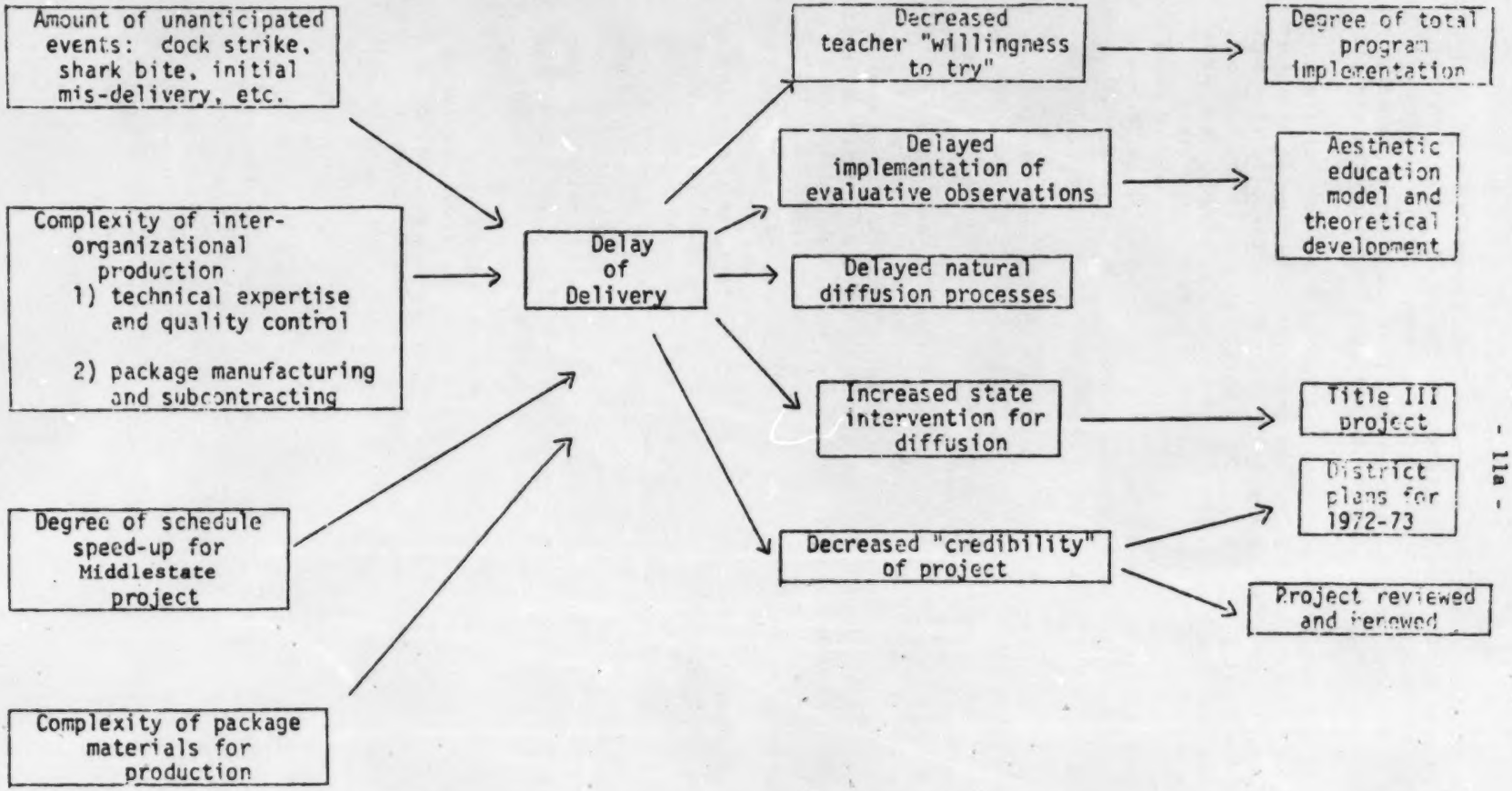
Amount of unanticipated events: dock strike, shark bite, initial mis-delivery, etc.
Complexity of inter-organizational production
1) technical expertise and quality control
2) package manufacturing and subcontracting
Degree of schedule speed-up for Middlestate project
Complexity of package materials for production
Delay of Delivery
Decreased teacher "willingness to try"
Delayed implementation of evaluative observations
Delayed natural diffusion processes
Increased state intervention for diffusion
Decreased "credibility" of project
Degree of total program implementation
Aesthetic education model and theoretical development
Title III project
District plans for 1972-73
Project reviewed and renewed
T1
T2
T3
T4

Figure 3 Antecedent and Consequences of "Delay of Delivery" of Packages

These consequences included a decrease in teacher "willingness to try" the packages at certain grade levels, minimal implementation of the scheduled aesthetic education program, slow down in evaluation efforts, minimization of natural dissemination and diffusion, increase state-wide diffusion efforts primarily by planned state intervention, and decrease in the credibility of the project.

In general the Familarization Workshops had led to a teacher "willingness to try" in September, e.g., the teachers had deliberately set aside classroom time for package instruction. The teachers did not receive Dramatic Plot until mid October and did not get Word Pictures until early December. The beat of package delivery did not always match the rhythm of public school life. Word Pictures was often not used in December because of Christmas activities. Texture arrived during the end-of-the school year activities in May and several local coordinators felt it would be an "unfair" trial. Characterization could not be scheduled in the late April and May school calendar.[7] Plans were made at the local level for full utilization of these packages for the next year.

A further consequence of the "delayed delivery" was the decrease in the "credibility" of the project, especially its predictableness. Project predictability refers to the capability of the project to meet announced public schedules and committments to the participants. Credibility refers to the degree to which a participant is willing to make plans and commit resources based on a project's schedules. This decrease of the credibility of the project and its predictability was demonstrated in the local districts planning for the second year utilization. In September of 1971, the initial 10 packages were early designated by teacher and length of usage. For the second year most school districts seemed to be waiting to have the additional packages before scheduling utilization arrangements.

As indicated elsewhere, the state-wide diffusion efforts were expected to occur as a natural process and also as a result of state intervention. The natural process of diffusion, e.g., through informal word-of-mouth and seeing the packages in use, occurred at a minimal level. Although some project dissemination by local school people occurred during the year, most of it was delayed. Because the majority of the packages were not being used until mid or late spring, visitors were usually encouraged to wait until "our teachers have learned to use the materials." The major state diffusion effort became a Title III project in which a dozen and a half new sites were established.

In short, the delay in package delivery eroded the beginning of the middle level network, and forestalled the beginnings of the third networking level, the teacher network. A network predicated on curriculum material, is no network at all when those materials are not available. Networks based on an idea, an ideology, or on interpersonal relationships have other opportunities and problems.[8]

[7]Variations occurred on these themes as some districts with strong supervisory and/or administrative pressure pushed for trials in late May and early June, just as school was closing for the year.

[8]For an illuminating counter illustration see Carolyn Wood's recent Ph.D. Dissertation The Attempted Utilization of Participatory Strategies in a Localist Task Group. Washington University, 1977.

AEP and Indigenous Curricula, Programs and Specialists

Any innovative program must come to terms with the curriculum and organizational structure which it complements, supplements, or supersedes. This coming to terms may be at a theoretical level, at a practical level or both. Our observational experience kept focusing on the day to day practical level. In an earlier memo we phrased it this way.

> Recently, during one of my visits to Middlestate, I encountered a set of experiences about which I've heard little talk and seen little written by AAE personnel. It developed this way. Upon entering the school, I was face to face with a group of older elementary kids who were square dancing. Later I was told they were getting ready for a Spring festival, which would also include vocal music and guitar playing. After watching that for a few minutes I found my way to a cup of coffee in the teachers lounge where several teachers were good humoredly teasing the itinerant art teacher about her morning activity. She was sewing together some nine small pot-holder-size weavings of the children into one large colorful wall hanging. As they were instructing her in arranging the multicolored pieces to eliminate clashes among the pinks, they chided her that the ragged back was as pretty as the front but that "they" wouldn't want it hanging in their rooms. In keeping with the tenor of the interchange, I was duly hesitant about taking it either. Later, after watching a creative lesson in which the Meter package activity was improvised into an orchestra - drums, rhythm sticks, clapping, and a leader who used the teacher's silk head scarf as a director's wand, I walked out to recess with the teacher. Across the field the junior high marching band was practicing for a crippled children's walkathon. The teacher was soon telling me about the high school band which was good enough to win prizes at the Mardi Gras and in a three state competition.
>
> The question all of this raises is where does AAE fit into a culture like this? Is there something that might be called Participatory Folk Art? Issues of cultural pluralism, disappearing rural/localist traditions, the Deweyian concern for separatism of fine arts from practical arts, come to mind. Those of you with broader backgrounds in culture and the arts will see other more subtle implications. On the surface, it seems worthy of attention.

Now, after more careful review of the data, a label such as "participatory folk art" seems too pretentious - for most of our settings. The schools do have music programs, art programs, and in some instances drama programs. Considerable direct and incidental instruction occurs. In the late Spring we ran into annual music concerts, festivals, and programs in school after school. The children from all grades heard bands, orchestras and choruses. They were taught, or given brief explanations of the similarities and differences among these; and even saw bands reconstituted from orchestras as children and instrucments departed from or were added to the group. They were given brief instructions on audience behavior (etiquette) such as ways and time to applaud. They were introduced to peculiarities of instruments. "Watch the violins and see what they do to get a different sound." The string plucking in "Chapanecas" was vividly attended to. A variety of simple popular songs, Parade of the Wooden Soldiers, and simple classical pieces, Tchaikovsky, were part of the experience.

Through all this, the band conductor kept up a quiet by play with the audience with comments, questions and interpretations. The program included several folk songs to which a subgroup of children danced. Other children had special roles in announcing and piano solos. The thematic aspects of a choral program were illustrated in an "around the world" theme which loosely gave a unity to the program.

If one is to believe the school administrators, the strength of these programs waxed and waned with the comptency and personal resources of the specialist e.g., "The band and orchestral program has accelerated in the last couple of years with Mr. X's arrival."

In another school, an extended arts program existed. The school had the traditional Spring assemblies. The halls housed a collection of original paintings and sculpture. Two weeks in February were set aside for a total restructuring of the school program. Teachers and citizens from the community who are specialists in puppetry, dance, improvisational drama, crafts, and so forth taught special units which children elected according to interests. Finally, an optional opportunity existed in a summer extension of these experiences. Major questions need to be asked regarding the need and/or viability of the AAE materials in such a school.[9]

Beyond the special programs in operation in the schools are the "aesthetic" materials available from commercial companies. In a memo we phrased it as "The nature of the competition."

> One of the treats of a recent visit in a lower socio-economic school using the AEP materials was observing the itenerant music teacher working with second grade classes on Meter and Sound and Movement. In addition, I talked with her and sat in on a regular first grade music class. The opportunity to observe the regular music class raised the dual issue of specialists in the arts and of other materials and experiences available in "regular" elementary art, music, language and literature courses. I don't know these materials well, I haven't seen them around National, and I haven't heard them discussed much. All of which may be my problem and not AAE's problem.
>
> The particulars were these: 1. The teacher showed me the first grade teacher's editions of four or five music series which she was carrying around and from which she draws ideas and activities. 2. She commented that the curriculum library contains complete sets plus considerable related and supplementary materials. 3. She showed me and also used in class a large well produced book of colorful pictures which she used for discussion, songs, and activities. 4. In a 20 minute lesson she and the class flowed through a half dozen discriminable activities. 4.1 A game like song activity "Who has the button, domino, paper clip and piece of chalk?" In which there is considerable student participation and the eventual response: "I have the paper clip", etc. 4.2 Then she had all the kids stand and led them into the "rhythm game". In the notes I commented "She moves, swings, and sways, almost as in Sound and Movement." 4.3 They played the "echo game": "Tee tee taw"; my off hand phonetic recording. Shortly, she put on a record,

[9]The particular school alluded to here came in to the X Pilot trials quite late in the year, for a variety of organizational reasons.

opened the big display book, and asked "Who wants to dance with a porcupine?" which continued the echo game activity. My interpretive aside, which prompted this memo appeared here (OBS: I'm reminded that there is a lot of sexy stuff available in the regular program. Reminded of the first trip to Northern Middlestate and the slide tape materials which evoked more attention and response than Dramatic Plot). 4.4 Next they moved into a marching activity-walking on tip toes, up and down, freeze, etc. (OBS: Again they're in the middle of Sound and Movement). 4.5 Hardly skipping a beat (which seems a viable metaphor in a theory of teaching aesthetics), the teacher asked "What does Mrs. Em look like?" The kids responded "Sad, sleepy", etc. "Everyone look like Mrs. Em!" "How would you look if you were going to the circus?" "Happy!" "Now look that way." In the notes went my obvious aside (OBS: Sounds like Characterization). 4.6 This lesson closed with what I called the "Goodbye song" which she used to terminate all three of the classes I observed.

Our original concern was the need to think through, perhaps to the point of a content analysis of the "regular" programs in art, music, literature, and physical education and assess the degree of richness of these aspects of elementary education. In particular we were struck by the wealth of materials the teacher had available to her. Inadvertently perhaps, the discussion drifted into the related issue of the arts specialist, the aesthetic education establishment, and her role in the Arts and Aesthetic Education.

Essentially, what we have here is the relationship of the new curriculum to the indigenous structure of organizational activities, positions, and roles. Briefly, the schools of Middlestate have had a long tradition in the arts. Most schools have access to art, music (and P.E.) specialists. Most school districts have supervisors or coordinators in each of the arts. The State Department of Education has a Division of Fine Arts, staffed by specialists from graphic arts, music, and drama. At each level, the organizational structure contains generalists (teachers of self contained classrooms, principal, directors of elementary education etc.) whose work complements that of the specialist when the system is working well and which conflicts dramatically when the system is not working well. Without tracing through the many illustrations in our notes, one representative issue in the regular art and music program is the degree to which the itinerant arts specialist should spend most of his/her time "teaching children" or consulting as a "resource person" with the regular teacher. Our impression is that most fine arts specialists do not want to teach all or most of the time; in contrast our impression is that most classroom teachers prefer minimal consultation and want the specialists teaching the children directly most of the time.

AEE drops neatly into the middle of this issue of professional interdependency. In the working out of this year's X Pilot trials, the program has been geared mostly to the classroom teacher with little direct concern for the specialists' roles in the short run or their positions in the long run. Each school, and system, has tended to work out its own ad hoc resolution.

When we talked with teachers about the relationship of AEE to the overall program two important issues arose - from where does the time come? And, How does the program fit the remainder of the curriculum? In part, the answers are package specific. Constructing Dramatic Plot and Creating Word Pictures are viewed most typically as part of the language arts. Teachers make reference to chapters and exercises in composition which involve the children in producing sensory descriptions of objects and events as part of creative

writing. Constructing Dramatic Plot often has "carry over" into book reports, analyzing stories and writing their own stories. Analogously the materials most often fit time slots usually alloted to language arts. Similarly, Meter and Sound and Movement substitute for music periods in some schools - especially if the music teacher has been talked into teaching the lesson. On occasion a P.E. Teacher has taught Sound and Movement in place of part of his regular program. Occasionally a teacher will admit to a lack of interest in science or social studies and will use the AEP materials in that time slot.

Network building is conflict inducing. What at first blush is seen as a simple positive "good", developing a set of relationships among teachers who are scattered across a large state in dozens of public schools, soon can be seen as a competing, if not conflicting, thrust. There is a systemic quality to the indigenous programs, curricula, and specialists. In the arts, there are music networks, graphic arts networks, and physical education networks (with some interests in dance and movement education). A new arts and aesthetic education program, allegedly capable of being taught by the regular classroom teacher, has more political implications than most curriculum developers realize or are able to plan around, through, or with. While these were most manifest at the local level in our data, the conflicts ran throughout the hierarchy e.g., as specialists were drawn toward their discipline, toward their State Department relationships, and thirdly toward the possibilities in the new network.

The Coordinator: Informed, Committed, and Residential

In any inter-organizational project involving national, state and local organizations, the role of the project Coordinator is central to the multiple efforts to prevent "system breakdown." A project Coordinator was specified in the plan for the Middlestate Extended Pilot Trials. The final arrangements were that in the first year, the Coordinator would be provided by National and have the endorsement of the MDE. The choice of a Coordinator involved several factors. She was early involved with the MDE and the nine school districts in the pre-project year to set up the five-year plan. In addition to establishing working relationships with the MDE and district administrators, she had intimate organizational familarity in past employment with National and the U.S. Office of Education. She had several years of administrative experience in both organizations. Significantly, she had a working knowledge of aesthetic education from contact with the individual package writers, the AAE staff, and a long association with those concerned with aesthetic education in the public schools and in teacher-training. Her commitment to the "idea" of arts and aesthetic education was both deep and personal.[10] The antecedents and consequences of this role appear in Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 about here

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[10] The commitment she brought to the position seems analogous to House's (1974) concept of "advocacy". Implicitly, he seems to see the advocate in a "remunerative" context while in our case, the context is more "normative," to use Etzioni's (1961) distinction. In this sense our label seems well chosen. How the "committed advocate" shades into the "true believer" (Hoffer 1951, Smith & Keith, 1971) is not clear. In short, "types of advocate" seems a worthy theoretical and empirical next step.

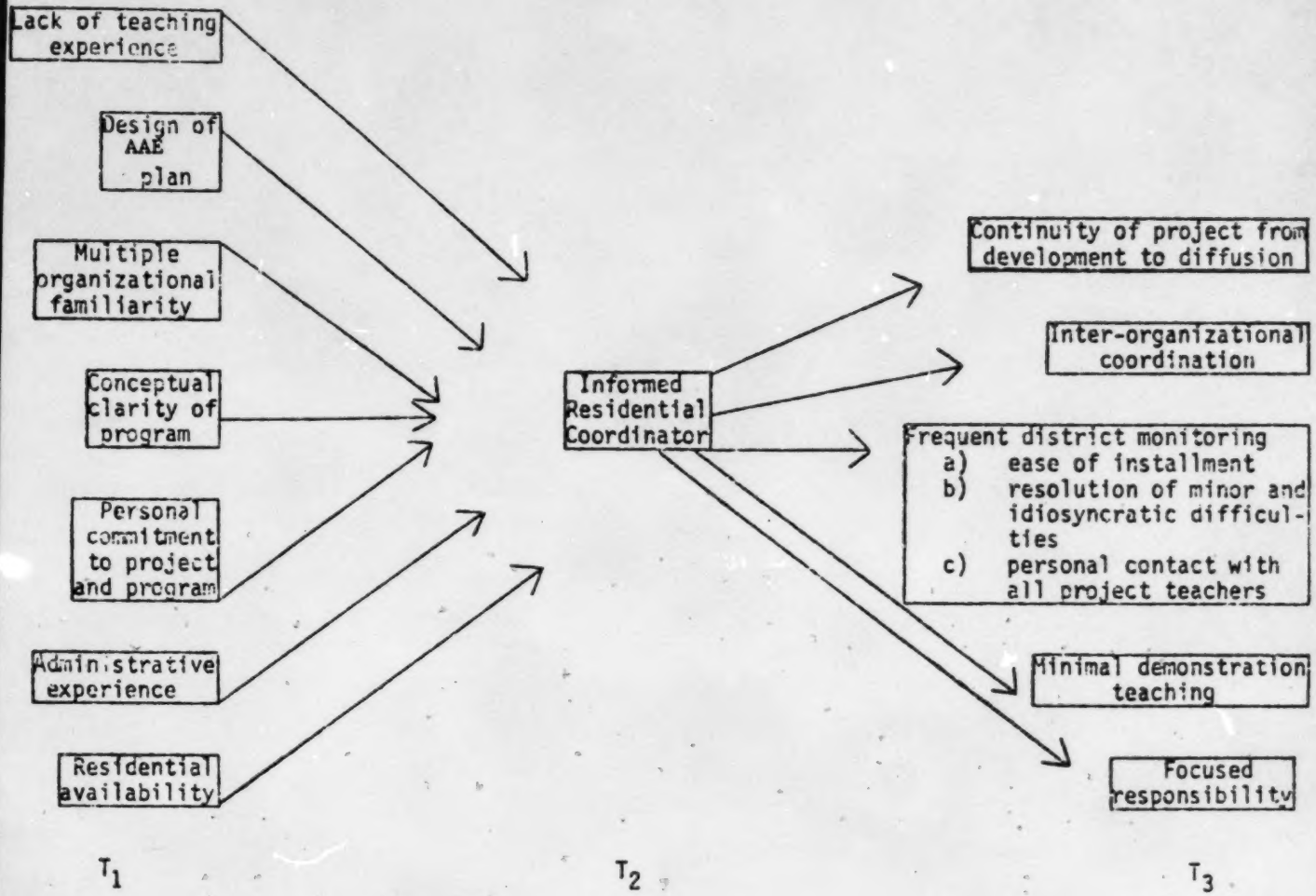

Figure 4 Role of the National Coordinator

The resident coordinator was able to provide frequent monitoring of district rate of implementation as noted before; her efforts were significant for the ease of installment. She was able to resolve minor difficulties and respond to idiosycratic organizational concerns and actions. When unusual events happen, bureaucratic rules frequently do not apply, discussion must be entertained, individual judgments must be made, and decisions must be implemented. The Coordinator is in an obviously important spot to respond to the uniqueness in the context of the overall project.[11]

Finally the designation of a Coordinator provided focused responsibility. Although in a project of such scope, it appears humanly impossible to "keep on top of it" at all times, at least one person had this responsibility and information was centralized for administrative ease. Thus, responsibility was not fragmented in the sense that the "left hand did not know what the right hand was doing."

Perhaps the most pressing problem lay in the coordinator's lack of teaching experience. A number of the teachers, for various reasons, tried to redefine the coordinator's role into one of demonstration teacher. This provoked some conflict and tension which was gradually discussed, clarified, and resolved.

In summary, the project had an "informed resident coordinator." She had worked for several years in the AEP program at National. She now resided in Middlestate. Informed is perhaps too weak a word for the accompanying experience, reference group ties, and interpersonal relationships with the development agency. By being on-site she was able to coordinate and monitor the project thereby minimizing unanticipated and unintended events. The project was maintained during the first year. All participants agreed to continue the project into the second year. Much of the maintenance of the middle level network, and the connections between it and the teacher level network were due to her efforts. In retrospect, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of such a role.

[11] Perhaps the most obvious example is early awareness of a site with unusual difficulties in the ease of program installment, notification and follow-through with district officials to relocate the site at another school while at the same time modifying the MDE and National relationships.

Stretch-outs in Innovation: An Administrative and Organizational Strategy

For some time we[12] have been enamoured of Etzioni's (1966) concept of "stretch outs", one of the components of his gradualist strategy of social change. The gradualist conception involves setting limited goals for change. Stretch outs refers to the built in possibility of extending the time required to implement some part of the innovation. This seemed to be a major way of conceptualizing the networking in Middlestate.

The teacher education component emphasized multiple perspectives. National R&D did not view the packages as "teacher proof". Three familiarization workshops provided for ease of installment. In addition, National held a three day Teacher Education Conference in early December.

A representative from each of the three participating Middlestate teacher training insitutions was invited to develop model aesthetic education programs for pre-service teachers. The National Coordinator aided in site implementation of the packages and held dissemination conferences at the colleges. As described in a previous section, variation in official district staff development occurred at the local level. Most districts did not develop systematic and structured in-service programs for their teachers although several were planning this for 1972-73.

At state level, the teacher education program development centered on pre-service and in-service teachers and three types of inter-organizational arrangements. These included the use of the new Intermediate Units districts, teacher-training institutions, and the annual state in-service workshops held in June. In general, in-service teacher-training programs were still at the developmental stage by the end of the first year of the project.

In the area of pre-service teacher training programs, the three institutions were to develop their programs in 1971-72 and to operationalize them the following year. Again, our data are limited. All three institutions preferred to develop their programs after seeing the packages in classrooms. Visits to nearby pilot sites were delayed until the rate of implementation had increased to the point of visibility. Members of the MDE who disseminated information to teacher-training institutions were "low keyed", two of the three developed new programs. The notes reflect the kind of long term issues involved.

> The State Department cannot directly influence the colleges although they can change credential requirements, which is a long process. But, they cannot straighten out the internal politics which seem to be going on in each of the three colleges. In College X recently the dean has resigned, another dean has resigned, and the whole place is full of internal factions. College Y has instituted the arts term in spite of all the internal politics that are there. College Z will have a summer school program for the administrators. The discussion centered not only on the internal politics in each of these

[12] The reference here is to Smith and Keith's (1971) analysis of change strategies in the Kensington Elementary School.

state colleges, but also the long term goals in each. In the long term it is teacher training that might have the most lasting effect. (5/23)

Thus the teacher-training component of the project varied with the type of program and organizational setting.[13] In general, the activity centered on program development with program installment and implementation planned for 1972-73.

The diffusion efforts were faced with similar "stretchouts". While the delay of delivery was central here also, other factors were both present and important. The year of 1971-72 was an active one for the MDE in terms of "organizational fluidity", e.g., major changes in department positions and personnel. A new Secretary of Education was sworn into office January 3, 1972. More significant for the Middlestate project, the new Commissioner of Basic Education had a conceptual understanding of and gave his support to the aesthetic education program. Because of internal reorganization of the state department at this time, the Fine Arts Division was involved in multiple activities in addition to the project. Drawing on internal resources, the MDE ruled that National packages qualified for Title III projects, disseminated information on the aesthetic education program to the Intermediate Units and the Bureau of Quality Education Assessment, and organized an Aesthetic Education Workshop at the State Teacher's College Conference in June, 1972.

The major state diffusion effort was concentrated in establishing a Title III project for the next phase of the Project. At the time of the State capitol meeting in late May, the final negotiation of the arrangements was just being completed. As developed by a local school district, the project will contain four components: instruction, teacher education and staff development, evaluation and research, and administration and coordination. Twelve new pilot districts will be established, geographically dispersed over the state but close to one of the present nine districts in the project. Aesthetic Education materials will be supplied through a cooperative arrangement with local district and Title III monies for a 3 year period. In-service project workshops will be held for the new district personnel and model pre-service teacher education methods courses in aesthetic education will be developed and implemented. A project Coordinator will be appointed. The project will involve kindergarten through grade three students at 12 schools and in four new school sites in the local administrative district. Thus, approximately, 3200 pupils will be using the materials during the 1972-73 year. A more gradual but continuing diffusion process began. The teacher network was struggling into existence.

As indicated the leadership group was adapting to realities. Plans were readjusted. New resources were sought (and obtained!). The strategy was to slow down, stretch out, the sequence of originally planned efforts.

[13]Once again our data fit one of House's (1974) conceptions, the doctrine of transferability. The AAE network was not constrained tightly; solutions were altered across different levels and components of the system. Codification between the two positions would be instructive.

Ending and Beginning Again

In summary, as the school year drew to a close, all levels and types of organizations formally and informally reviewed the project and made plans for the next year. As the observers made their last site visitations, they heard district people look back over the year's events, assess organizational adjustments, and talk of specific plans and concerns for the next year. During May '72, a major meeting was held at the state capitol. The State Commissioner of Basic Education, the staff of the Fine Arts Bureau of the MDE, the project coordinator, the Director of the AAE program and various other staff members were in attendance. Components of the project which needed attention in the next year were identified, "images of the future" were voiced, and decisions were made. Another phase was beginning. The leadership network, as individuals and as spokesmen for their organizations, was in place.

All districts decided to participate in the project for the next year. Some districts were planning formal staff development in terms of workshops. All districts were revising utilization patterns in package grade placement and/or the sequencing of packages. A few districts were acquiring additional packages to install in other district schools.

Few districts at this time were making utilization plans for the "new packages" scheduled for delivery in September. Apparently, one effect of the "delayed delivery" at the local level was a decrease in project "credibility". A solution in the 2nd year would be to make organizational adjustments when the need was perceived at the local level. District personnel voiced concerns, or anticipated "costs", in two areas. First, districts recognized the quality of the packages and their value for multiple purposes. However, faced with uncertainty about national inflation and the reality of district budget cut-backs, administrators were anticipating difficulties in locating funds for future package purchase. Some ways of overcoming this were being explored. The districts which anticipated serving as demonstration sites in 1972-73 were also concerned about the organizational adjustment they perceived as necessary.

Each organization received sufficient benefits to justify organizational costs during the first year of the project and envision a similar occurence for the second project year. Thus National would continue to supply packages for continued summative evaluation in the nine sites. Presumed project and center visibility would increase the curriculum market.

The MDE fulfilled the gubernatorial platform and began to redefine the role of the Fine Arts Bureau. They planned to extend Quality Education programs through a diffusion network, and to implement teacher education programs as they took over more of the project coordination and monitoring role. The local districts acquired a curriculum to fill a perceived need and would continue to supply sites and personnel for program implementation and local assessment for future district diffusion. In essence, as each member organization is able to maintain and enhance itself through project development over the years, the inter-organizational project will continue.

Concentrated efforts would focus on the teacher education component at primarily state and local levels. The degree of variance for this program component was evident in areas of pre-service teacher education programs and local support services for in-service training. The organizational resources of the MDE would now be focused on program development for the second year as compared to establishing networks for diffusion within the MDE and the state during the first year. Thus they expected to be "in the field" to aid teacher training institutions and as a resource organization and roving teaching "expert" for local district efforts.

With the project components of monitoring and coordination, teacher education, and state diffusion now centered through the MDE, the intensity of National activity would decrease. The transition of late May represented the passage of project leadership from the national organization to the state organization. Ground work was being laid for later phases when project leadership would pass from the state organization to the school district organizations.

Our initial conceptualization of the project noted two characteristics: a highly planned approach with built-in flexibility. To review briefly, the scope was state-wide in contrast to local innovation or national diffusion of a curriculum. The approach is rational, sequential, comprehensive, and complex. It is rationalistic in the long-range planning. It is sequential in the linear development of each project component. It is comprehensive in the number of people involved and tasks to be done. It is complex in the variety of organizational tasks and an envisioned configuration or spread of diffusion. Finally, the overriding tone is one of cooperativeness, not competition, between the various organizations within the project. We suggested earlier that this aspect of cooperativeness could be viewed as mutual-goal setting and as an exchange process to share scarce resources within a competitive social, economic, and political milieu. Thus, this aspect of cooperativeness provides the organizational dynamics to minimize ripples of reactions and adjustments to events which are unanticipated and/or unintended in a complex and comprehensive change strategy.

4. EPILOGUE: AEG, A SUBSEQUENT NETWORK

In effect, our story is over. Characteristically, the world goes on, other stories occur and are told. One such story is the development of the Aesthetic Education Group (AEG), a national network of aesthetic education centers. Middlestate is not only a part but was the site of much of the experience that led to the conceptualization and the design of the larger network. Several documents (Rosenblatt, 1975, 1976) tell that story in considerable detail. As I read them, there is a coping with many of the same problems we found in our year in Middlestate. For instance, moving toward a national network has raised particularly the simple dimensions of distance and diversity. These were part of Middlestate. They seem even more a part of AEG. I raise them merely as illustrations toward a cautionary stance regarding networks as panaceas. Even here there are minority reports on the the subsequent stories, and especially their more interpretive and evaluative aspects, as accounts by Sjogren (undated), and Smith (1974) indicate. The potency of an ascendant and autonomous local district, the collaboration of multiple organizations, the idiosyncratic creativity of particular individuals - administrators and teachers are important themes.

5. IMPLICATIONS FOR OTHER EDUCATIONAL NETWORKS

Relevance of the Case

There is no question in my mind that the case study which has been recounted is special, idiosyncratic, and particular. However it does have some aspects which seem generalizable and highly relevant. For instance:

1. Networks may refer to both networks of organizations and networks of individuals. Often both are involved, sometimes causally as when the Invisible College became of the Royal Society of London, or as here in our case an interorganizational network is established to produce another network. In between was a facilitative

structure that could well be called a network also.

2. In our society, nowadays, it is inconceivable that there will not be formal organizations interlocked with the most informal of teacher networks. At a minimum most teaching goes on in a school, an organization nested in multiple larger organization, and related to many other formal organizations. The degree to which informal teacher centers as described by Devaney (1975,1976) can carry the burden of inservice teacher training and revitalization of teaching seems an open question at this point. To this investigator it seems but one of a neccessary multitude of options. Other somewhat different options are raised in Science Education in the Alte Schools (Smith 1977) and Relating Theory to Practice in Educational Research (Smith 1976).

3. In particular, the role of governmental organizations seems fundamental to the issues of teacher networks. This very conference is sponsored by a subsection of NIE. At a minimum, the intellectual exploration of the phenomenon of networking is being supported by a federal agency. The more direct policy decisions eventually must be cast in terms of such verbs as supporting, facilitating, intervening, suggesting, directing, underwriting, and so forth.

Substantive Aspects

1. Many, if not most, educational changes, including networks, will have some "materials component". If our study is at all typical, educationists are not noted for having materials and equipment developed, operable and in place at some agreed upon time and place. In our case, what we called "delay in package delivery" of the key curriculum materials was a major event in the year. It alone was tantamount to reducing the network to a skeleton of the original intentions and hopes. The ubiquitousnous, the simplicity, the reliability, and the cheapness of textbooks and chalkboards, pencils and paper have a compellingness unappreciated by those long removed from the hecticness of a public school classroom. Newer, more complicated materials and technology, while desirable in this observer's view require not so latent technical support systems which are expensive. The trade offs are not clear at this point.

2. Leadership is a chestnut of educational discussions. No one can define it very well, yet everyone acedes to its importance. In the day to day workings of this project, the fostering of the network, the "informed, committed, residential coordinator" seemed a key element. She was informed in the sense of knowing the materials well and gradually knowing the territory of Middlestate. She was committed to the program and project, the ideals and the possibilities. And, finally, she was residential, that is, she lived in Middlestate, "on site". She was able to respond to a phone call and an immediate problem. Perhaps, in view of the subsequent history, one might have included also that she gave undivided attention and responsibility to the project. Such advocacy seems essential. Whether one

must find and select such individuals, or whether one can train and educate them, or whether they are lucky accidents or shrewd higher level administrative judgments in the sense of aptitude and treatment interactions, or some combinations of these, inquirers into networking should see this as a major issue for analysis.

3. The indigenous culture always presents competing alternatives. In our case these included: regular art and music curicula, an in place social structure -- regular art and music teachers, a school day already filled, and a community context -- parades, festivals, folk art. If one argues that these are not whimsical but the "end" result of debates, choices, influence attempts that have been going on for years then one isn't changing some minor little agenda item with this new curriculum and the network of teachers. Rather, one is entering into this continuing, never ending process of deliberation and social influence. By analogy, my argument is that the road to any kind of networking will have comparable elements of competing alternatives. This argument seems to be a specific instance of the general one being made by House (1974) in his political analysis of educational innovations. With considerable vigor he comments:

> A new program, while it may be an improvement, most certainly means an encroachment upon old prerogatives. When program change is significant, it requires reallocation of resources, and conflict is inevitable if the school district is seen as coalitions of people pursuing divergent conflicting goals. Only small scale changes elude such conflict. The process of change is essentially a social and political one involving competition for resources among groups within a district, and conflict is inevitable and necessary. This view is quite different than that of a school district as a unified, rational problem solving entity. (1974 p. 52).

A similar, but more subdued, analysis appears in our case study of the Alte School District (Smith 1977). Some of the curriculum changes contained elements of non zero sum games, what Sherif et al (1961) might call the invention of superordinate goals, as rationality played through the "nonrational system" and as cooperation was a mode of interaction as well as competition and conflict.

4. Ever present in this context of alternatives are middle level administrators, supervisors, and agents who hold positions in organizations, each of which has its own goals and reasons for being. The incumbents of these positions as they struggle for their survival or for the maintenance and enhancement of either themselves or their organizations will continue to interact with one another -- have networks of sentiments and influence. These forces are changing but continuing as we saw in Middlestate and in our brief epilogue.

Finally, and in summary we have been arguing that interorganizational educational structures are a peculiarly interesting related species, if not precisely, an educational network. As we studied the first year of the AAE, Arts and Aesthetic Education, the educational actors confronted and coped with a number of general issues and specific problems that seem indigenous to any efforts to effect change through educational networks.

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